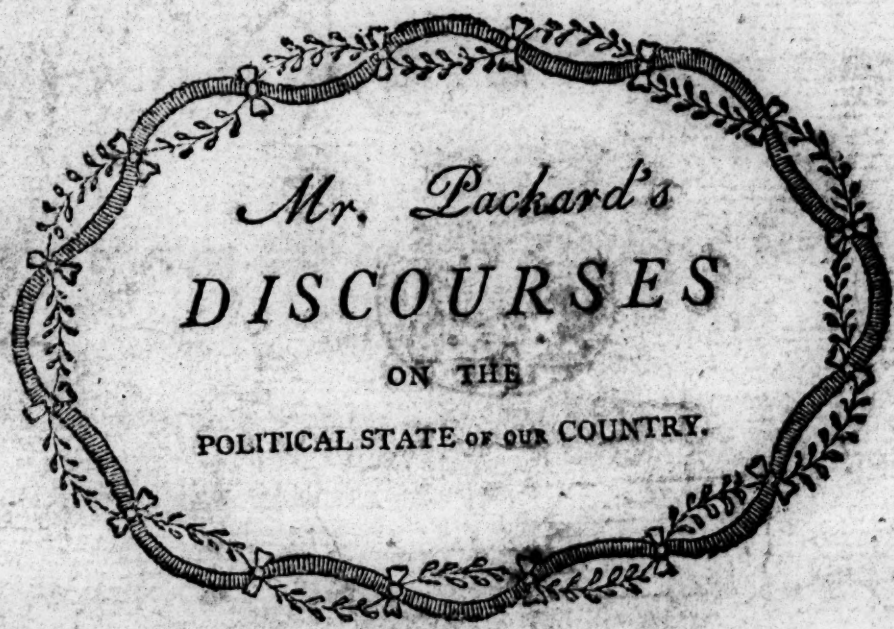


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5768





Federal Republicanism,

DISPLAYED

IN

TWO DISCOURSES,

PREACHED ON THE DAY OF THE STATE FAST

AT CHELMSFORD,

AND ON THE DAY OF THE NATIONAL FAST AT

CONCORD,

IN APRIL, 1799.

By HEZEKIAH PACKARD,
PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN CHELMSFORD.

Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men. For they sleep not, except they have done mischief; and their sleep is taken away unless they cause some to fall.———SOLOMON.

Resist the devil and he will flee from you.———ST. JAMES.

Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea; for the devil is come in great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.———REV. xii, 12.

B O S T O N,

PRINTED BY JOHN RUSSELL,

1799.

Federal Republican

DISPLAYED

IN

TWO DISCOURSES,

PREACHED ON THE DAY OF THE STATE FAST

AT CHELSEA, MASS.

AND ON THE DAY OF THE NATIONAL FAST AT


IN APRIL, 1799.

BY HENRY W. PACKARD,
PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN CHELSEA.

Enter not into the path of the wicked, and do not in the way of evil
men. For they sleep not, except they have done mischief; and their sleep
is taken away, unless they cause some to fall. — Sermon.
Reject the devil and he will flee from you. — St. James.
Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea; for the devil is come in
great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time. — Rev. xii, 12.

BOSTON.

PRINTED BY JOHN RUSSELL.

1799.

Federal Republicanism,

DISPLAYED

IN

TWO DISCOURSES:

THE interest I feel in the support and prosperity of Government and Religion; and the duty I owe to my fellow citizens and to my profession; lead me to trace some of the causes of the unfriendly aspect to our public affairs, and to express my sentiments with freedom and confidence.

At this eventful period, when our dearest rights and liberties appear somewhat in hazard, and when the enemies of our peace are approaching us with their strange gods, the faithful watchman is sensible of danger, and gives timely warning to the people. When disorganizing principles attempt the overthrow of Church and State, the christian patriot takes the alarm and uses the greatest efforts to prevent the threatened catastrophe. When the enemy is sowing tares among our wheat, the spiritual husbandman zealously endeavours to root them out, lest they spread from field to field and contaminate the soil.

These preliminary remarks are my only apology for advancing the sentiments contained in the following Discourses. For my guide in bringing these sentiments forward, the Scriptures offer me the words of Solomon.

PROVERBS, xviii. 17.

"He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him."

HE who opens a cause holds a favourable situation. By fair words and plausible representations he may make his side of the question appear fair and just to himself and others. He may indeed vindicate what he knows to be erroneous, with so much zeal and perseverance, as to forget that it is error, and call it by the venerable name of truth. Availing himself of the opportunity of being first in his own cause and of making his own statements, *he seemeth just*. But when another impartially examines his plea, unravels his

sophistry and exhibits the real merits of the cause, the subject matter in question may assume a very different aspect, and the feelings and opinions of the constituted judges may appear upon the opposite side. *His neighbour cometh and searcheth him.*

THE plain and obvious instruction to be drawn from the passage under consideration is, that *we ought to look on both sides of a question before we make up judgment.*

THE sentiments of our text may be applied with much propriety to the unhappy dispute between the United States and the Republic of France. The professions of attachment and the pledges of fraternity have often been made and given by the French Government to the free born sons of America. These were received and circulated by all classes of American citizens with transports of joy. Without searching for governmental duplicity and ministerial intrigue, the people of the United States thought they had found in the French nation a generous and faithful ally. In consequence of which, we gave full credit to her fair speeches and promises, and admitted to our confidence her ministers and agents. Being first in her own cause, and allowed the privilege of making her own representations, the reasons and grounds of her designs and measures appeared plausible. She attained the perfection of art, which is to conceal art.

To shew you how well the former clause of the text applies to the French Republic, I have taken pains to collect materials from the writings of their own officers and agents, and will now lay some of them before you.

He that is first in his own cause seemeth just.

AT an early period of our revolution, the French king and his ministers of state, saw with anxious solicitude the American people struggling for liberty and independence. The oppressive regulations and arbitrary measures of Great Britain excited their tender compassion for the hard fated Colonies of America.

They embraced with eagerness the first fair opportunity to interpose in our behalf. They early took a decided part in our favour, and furnished us with warlike stores, military forces, and large sums of money. Every assistance was readily granted to give the wheels of our revolution a favourable direction, and obtain for us the object of our contest. And for all services rendered, they were willing to wait adequate returns until the American people should be in a situation to make them. What prevailed on the French Government to render these seasonable services was, that we might be enabled to establish our independence upon sure foundations. The United States would be brought by this timely assistance, into such a favourable posture, that a treaty could be formed with the British Government, and with other nations, on terms honourable and advantageous. This consideration led the French people to manly efforts in the American cause. And when by their aid, in connexion with the gracious interpositions of the God of armies, we had become a free and independent nation, the French king published epistles and decrees of congratulation. Every gallic tongue was exerted in giving demonstrations of joy at the rising greatness and growing prosperity of our country. Such active services, and such demonstrations of joy, did not fail to inspire confidence in every American bosom. Our ambassadors to other courts were accordingly instructed to consult with the French Government on the interests of our country, and in one or two instances were not allowed to negotiate without their consent. Testimonials of amity and attachment were continued on the part of France, until royalism breathed its last. And when her authorities were placed in other hands, and her revolution was in train, she was still more eager to hold a friendly intercourse with the United States. She readily granted that the people of France here imbibed the spirit of liberty, which diffused itself

among them, and rendered them impatient of the tyranny, under which they had long lived. During the progress of her revolution, she sought opportunities to extend to us the hand of fellowship, and to proffer the kiss of fraternity. Expressions of attachment and republican sentiments, issued like a torrent from the national assembly, and flowed in a mighty tide, and with the swiftness of the wind, to these happy shores. By such exertions to aid the progress of liberty, and to vindicate the rights of man, she gave pleasing assurances of her pure intentions to meliorate the condition of her own people, and to carry the sweets of freedom to nations around. A spirit of philanthropy directed their national movements. She hurried her own schemes and measures, that she might the sooner be able to patronize the cause, and accelerate the progress of liberty in other countries. Impatient to become the deliverer of mankind, she left the work of her own revolution incomplete, and undertook to liberate every slave, and to dethrone every tyrant.—Wishing well to all people, and looking with an eye of compassion on the unhappy subjects of arbitrary governments in Europe, her plans and measures for their relief, were deep and extensive. Their design and import are well expressed in a formal address to the people of Italy, made by their renowned general.

“PEOPLE of Italy,—the French people are friends to all people. Come with confidence to them, for the French army comes to break your chains. Your property, religion and customs, shall be respected. We make war as generous enemies, and wish only to make war against the tyrants who oppress you.” What noble sentiments!

IN her intercourse with the United States, the Republic of France has ever been governed by the most honourable intentions, and has ever been faithful to her engagements. Her rulers, ministers and agents well agree in witnessing the religious punctuality with which she fulfils her obligations to America.

WHEN her important services pass in review before her, she is constrained to acknowledge, that she gave us our freedom, and guaranteed our independence on liberal conditions. With a modesty and reluctance peculiar to generous benefactors, she reminds us that Americans, who are proud of their liberty, will not forget that they are indebted to France for it.

BUT notwithstanding all these services, and the precious gift of independence, the United States refuse to make suitable returns. They set aside the office of grateful acknowledgment, as though ingratitude were the duty of governments. Though the French Republic has never ceased to testify her attachment to them, and has observed her national engagements with religious punctuality, she meets in return opposition and injuries. And though she has assisted them in the difficult business of negotiating with other powers, the United States do not fail to counteract her interests and to violate their treaty with her. Indeed so unjust are they to her claims, and so deaf to her complaints, that she has been obliged to appeal from their government to the people, and has been reluctantly driven to the painful necessity of making free use of their goods, vessels and seamen, wherever she could find them.

THESE, my hearers, are some of the representations made by French ministers and agents, respecting the connexion and intercourse of that Republic with the United States. Their own communications to our government have furnished me with the foregoing sentiments advanced in her justification, and they make her appear magnanimous, honourable and generous. As long as she can enjoy the privilege of being first in her own cause, and that cause remains unexamined, *she seemeth just*. But our text invites us to act the part of a neighbour, and *search her*.

IN pursuing this neighbourly search, I shall not proceed without good authorities; and therefore, my

hearers may safely rely on the following statements and observations.

I. We begin this faithful and authentic search, by considering *French generosity* to the American Colonies, while struggling for liberty and independence.

ONE of the ministers of the French king, in April 1776, declared, that in his opinion the event most desirable for the interests of France and Spain, was the complete reduction of the Colonies under the yoke of England. And he expressed a wish that this might be the case, after a long and expensive contest, which would greatly diminish the numbers and resources of both parties, and render them an easy prey. He then advised his king and sovereign to furnish the Colonies with warlike stores, military forces, and money, and at the same time avail himself of the benefits of a neutral position. Nor did he forget to recommend the adoption of measures to gain exact information of all that should pass in the Colonies during the progress of the revolution. This he supposed could be done without giving the Americans any suspicion that France had among them any authorized agents. Arrangements were accordingly made to send out *French officers* to solicit commissions in the American army, and watch the movements of our government. Persons of this description were undoubtedly in our service. For as early as November 1777, one of them had obtained a high rank, and wrote to the French minister of war in a stile, which indicated a dishonourable correspondence. The letter which has since been published, closes with this expression. "I hope, my lord, you will excuse my prolixity, which proceeds wholly from my wish to satisfy your expectations, and to render myself as useful here as possible."

THE schemes of French policy were so laid, that no direct assistance could then be afforded to these Colonies. For a considerable time our most respectful advances and pressing applications were treated with

indifference. No ministerial tongue moved compliance. France manifested to England a dislike to any alliance with the Colonies. But the triumphs of patriotism and the success of our arms, changed the views and policy of the French cabinet. When we had supported the war for three years with our own forces; when we had captured Burgoyne's army, and were bringing the war to a happy issue; when our mother country had offered every thing but independence; when we had in a firm and manly stile declared our independence, and had means of supporting it; when our affairs were in this promising posture, France was generous enough to afford us assistance on the conditions of the treaty, ratified in 1778. This treaty, which was mutually binding, contains this explanatory and expressive clause.

"EACH party being resolved to fulfil on its own part, the clauses and conditions of the present treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumstances, there shall be no after claim of compensation on the one side or the other." France having been fully paid for all services rendered, and the monies loaned to us having been wholly refunded, whether she still has any real claims on our property, or gratitude, I am willing my hearers should judge.

To shew you with what propriety it is said, that we are indebted to France for our freedom and independence, I will read to you some of the reasons, which the French king in a formal manner offered to the British government for ratifying a treaty of alliance with America.

"It is a sufficient justification of his majesty, that the Colonies, which form a nation considerable for the number of their inhabitants, as well as for the extent of their dominion, *have established their independence*, not only by solemn declaration, but *in fact*, and have supported it against the efforts of their mother country. Such was in effect the situation of the Uni-

ted States, when his majesty began to negotiate with them."

✧ OUR independence being thus previously declared, and in *fact* supported, according to the acknowledgment of the French king himself, we are not indebted to France for it. The God of battles was our strength. He directed our councils, and patronized our cause. He taught our hands to war, and our fingers to fight, and crowned our laudable and patriotic efforts with glorious success.

✧ THE foregoing extracts from the official papers of the French government, and the observations attending them, fully prove, that France afforded us assistance from motives of self interest, and that it was her prevailing wish to reduce and subdue her powerful and long dreaded rival. Had we declined a treaty of alliance with that government, and received no direct assistance from it, our revolutionary war might probably have been sooner brought to a close, and we have earlier tasted the sweets of peace. So that *French generosity* is reduced to a mathematical point; which has no parts.

II. LET US now bring to view the *friendly assistance* which France has afforded us in our negotiations with other powers.

ON this subject we may derive information from a confidential letter, dated at Philadelphia in March 1782, and directed to the French minister of foreign affairs. This letter was written by one, who held an office under the French minister residing in the United States. Falling into the hands of our commissioners at Paris, it was soon forwarded to Congress. It unfolded the deliberate purpose of France, to embarrass our negotiations with England, and to render the conditions of peace unfavourable to the interests of our country. It plainly appears, that she used her influence to prevent us from enjoying the privilege of the grand fishery, and the free navigation of the river

Mississippi, and from securing the possession of the western posts. And a great part of the letter is employed in proposing ways and means to deprive us of these advantages. Our commissioners were obliged to extend and stretch the meaning of their instructions from our government, in order to obtain their laudable purposes. Honourable terms of accommodation with England could not have been made without checking gallic influence. Unfair means and secret agents were employed by the French cabinet, to prevent our commissioners from acquiring reputation and influence, and obtaining the objects of their embassy. France was undoubtedly desirous that we should continue the contest, and thereby induce a fatal decline upon both parties, so that she might enjoy the privilege of administering on our estates.— Measures were also in train to prevent other nations from acknowledging our independence, and to keep the United States upon the back ground. Our negotiation with the court of Spain was basely interrupted by her intriguing policy. She was so active in the business, that the secretary to the French Minister had the presumption and audacity to furnish our commissioner with the out lines of a disadvantageous treaty, and then to vindicate it. Another instance of French duplicity and base interference, requires some neighbourly animadversion. An acting minister of the French Republic in 1796, in his insulting appeal to the people of the United States, had the bold effrontery to assert, that our government eluded the amicable mediation of the French Republic, for breaking the chains of American prisoners at Algiers. But be it known to you, men and brethren, that at the very time we relied on France for the friendly aid she had promised in forming a treaty with the prime ruler of Algiers, she did *really and in fact* obstruct our negotiations with that power. She did encourage him to increase his demands. She did use artifice and in-

trigue to prevent an accommodation, and to frustrate the humane purposes of our government. And had not our commissioner at length proceeded to the business of negociation, without the knowledge, or at least without the consent, of the French ministry, our dear countrymen would in all probability have remained to this day a miserable band of galley slaves. In a word, wherever French policy and intrigue could operate, the ball of contention was thereby kept up between England and the American States, and all friendly negotiations with other powers prevented. It is plain as the beams of the mid-day sun, that France has been no farther friendly to the United States than what she thought conducive to her own emolument and glory. Our faithful and penetrating ambassadors and ministers, who have through much labour and research unravelled her sophistry, who have searched and exposed her, who have drawn aside her mask and given us a view of her insidious movements, well deserve the confidence and honours of their country. Their venerable names should be engraved in letters of gold upon a silver ground.— Among these distinguished characters we should set in the first and most honourary place, President ADAMS. These authentic statements and observations, present to you a proper idea of the part, which France has taken and acted in our negotiations with other powers.

III. WE will now take a general view of *French philanthropy*, which has inspired the French people with so much zeal in vindicating the rights of man, and carrying liberty to other nations.

WE can hardly allow that the terrible republic has ever been more faithful to any promise, than to that by which she engaged to be *a committee of insurrection to the world*. Were you to read the authentic accounts we have had of her revolutionary system and conduct, you would meet convincing proofs of her

close adherence to this sanguinary promise in her *domestic* affairs. And were you to trace the progress of her arms, to know the hardships and sufferings imposed upon the vanquished, and her treatment towards the millions who had the promise of her protection and friendship, you would be fully persuaded, that her *foreign* operations result from the same insurgent spirit. How often have our newspapers reported the destructive progress of this thundering committee!

It is computed, that as long ago as the year 1795, two millions of persons had been massacred in France. Of this number nearly five hundred thousand were women and children. In some instances the hands of mothers were cut off when stretched out to secure mercy for their tender babes. And to shew that nothing could resist the sanguinary schemes of the revolution, the heads of innocent children were stuck upon spears and carried through the streets. Indeed the most horrid scenes, which your imaginations could paint, would fall far short of those which have frequently taken place in the terrible republic. Every step of the revolution has been marked with blood.—Nor are the schemes and cruelties of French revolutionists kept within the limits of their own country. Their artful duplicity and political intrigues have been extended as far as their influence. Wherever they have carried their arms and conquests, they have made the most exorbitant demands, and required the tamest submission. Instead of extending the olive branch of peace over yielding nations, they have brandished over their heads the sword of carnage. Their dupes soon became their slaves. The oppressions and cruelties of the terrible republic, have ever kept pace with the weakness, credulity and submission of those nations, with whom she has had martial dealings. In seven days after the French General had expressed the purest intentions, and made the fairest promises to the deluded Dutch, he formally invited them to make

ample provision for feeding, clothing and paying his soldiers, and this invitation was attended with some broad hints, that, if the prescribed articles were not furnished within two months, they would be exacted by force.

AND all this to the infatuated and yielding Dutch people, was no more than the beginning of sorrows. A plain narrative of their sufferings, in consequence of admitting the French to their embrace, would be more than enough to fill your eyes with tears, and your hearts with grief. The same system of intriguing policy and oppressive requisition, has been applied in the same manner to other nations, who have fallen, or committed themselves, into their hands. Gallic oppression is as unbounded as gallic ambition. One of their favourite maxims is, that the end sanctifies the means. While they pretend to give liberty to mankind, they impose chains of servitude upon all within their grasp, and are making the world a field of blood.

French philanthropy is hostile to the principles of virtue, hostile to the institutions of social order, and hostile to the dearest interests of mankind, and therefore must be called by another name.

IV. WE may now consider the *religious punctuality* with which the French Republic keeps her engagements with the United States.

GENET, who came over the Atlantic to bring the disorganizing principles and fiery liberty of France into the bosom of our Country, was instructed by the French government to excite to the utmost the zeal of the Americans, and induce them, if possible, to make a common cause with France against her enemies. Contrary to the express will and wish of our government, that incendiary pursued the object of these national instructions, and used unceasing endeavours to bring our peaceful and growing country into the dreadful vortex of European hostilities. He and his underworkers made unwearied attempts to ex-

cite unreasonable jealousy and discontent in the minds of the American people. The methods they took but too well succeeded. Many honest and worthy citizens were really deceived. The divisions and animosities which they occasioned with regard to the wisest measures and best officers of our national government, were at times alarming. They repeatedly insulted our highest authorities, and applied to the people for support and assistance in measures hostile to the peace of our Country. They did not hesitate to arm and commission privateers in our ports, and to allure our citizens into the service of the terrible republic. In a manner contrary to the law of nations, contrary to treaty and contrary to the express orders of our government, they sent these privateers and these deluded men in search of unlawful prey. They even attempted to raise an army of brave Americans to invade and conquer nations with whom we were at peace. Some, if not all of them, proudly boasted their ignorance of the best authors who ever wrote on national principles, laws and governments. With the doctrines of revealed religion, they seem to have set aside the law of nations, and all the obligations of national compact. And notwithstanding all this series of injustice, treachery and outrage, they were instructed by their employers to come forward with a list of charges against the United States.

One would suppose, that they meant to redress our wrongs by insult, and to repair their breaches of contract by criminating us. For while their deviations from the articles of mutual agreement are obvious and aggravating, their charges against our government are in almost every instance unfounded and litigious. Their decrees and measures are glaringly inconsistent with any steady policy, and strangely vary with events and circumstances.

This being the case with the terrible republic, we cease to wonder, that she compares her views and po-

+ licy, with the views and policy of the Algerines and Indian tribes, and that in express imitation of their example, she demands tribute. For a time, nothing but money could open her ears to the story of our wrongs. But sooner than pay one sou for tribute, we will risk the issue of a bloody suit. In the cause of liberty, and in defence of our rights, every citizen will become a soldier, every soldier a hero, every hero a patriot.

+ How far the French republic is sincere in giving assurances of her disposition to settle all existing differences is quite uncertain. But it is probably most safe and expedient to continue our preparations for defence, in order to secure accommodations upon favourable conditions. And whenever these differences shall be adjusted, it may be necessary to continue in a state of preparation to keep her faithful to her engagements.

x The unhappy fate of other nations carries with it the instruction of volumes. When the foundations of our peace are disturbed, every observing citizen feels the shock. When any unhallowed hand reaches across the Atlantic, to grasp our ark of liberty, every American is insulted. When any foreign enemy invades our rights, we fly to arms. And as we can easily trace *domestic* divisions and animosities to *foreign* influence, we should learn a lesson of caution, and pursue the things which make for peace. Common danger urges union. Under this consideration, my hearers, it becomes *you* to act at this period of our national affairs. This is not the most favourable season either to alter our political constitutions, or to attempt bold experiments in our elections of officers.

+ If you love your country, you will of course respect its government and laws, and promote its interest and prosperity. If you adhere to the principles of our national government, and follow like good citizens, the general current of administration, you not

only discard with abhorrance French principles and French influence, but look with a frown upon those who act in character of French Americans. If any of you have been deceived by designing men and unpatriotic newspapers, your own good sense will lead you to correct your error and to be more cautious for the future. If any of you have been actuated by a spirit of party, you cannot do better than to lay it aside, and become the firm supporters of order and government. If men, who are stirrers up of sedition, have led any of you astray, either in opinion or practice, it is high time for you to return to your duty. If any of you have been rash and precipitate in forming your opinions and expressing your sentiments, it is now a favourable season to search for the advantages of moderation. If you be convinced that great evils attend the administration of our national government, you will be careful in attempting to remove *them*, not to introduce those which are greater.

SOME of my hearers may wish to ascertain the facts mentioned in this discourse, and to find authorities for the observations attending them. If you will examine the communications from the government and ministers of France, to our government and ministers; the official papers of Mr. PICKERING, our national and patriotic secretary, on these subjects; Mr. HARPER'S observations on the dispute between the United States and the French republic; Doctor MORSE'S thanksgiving sermon, and its valuable appendix; and other authentic communications concerning our political situation, you will find that what I have advanced bears the stamp of authority. You will also meet with many facts and circumstances, which admit a much higher colouring than I have given. You will wonder that I have not discovered more warmth and zeal, and that you have not been more active and vigorous in support of our government and administration.

I HAVE still many things to say unto you, but the time does not allow me to proceed at present. I can-

not however conclude this discourse, without a word of exhortation.

GUARD against that spirit of delusion, which is going forth among the nations, exalting itself above every thing that is called God, directing its force against religion and government, and persuading many to believe a lie.

VENERATE the name and worship of God, and be in the habit of attending to the institutions of the gospel, and to the duties of christians.

Our lines falling to us in pleasant places, and we having a goodly heritage, we ought to be as ready to perform the duties, as we are to enjoy the privileges of good citizens.

IN fine.—Let us all this day resolve to rectify whatever is amiss in our personal or domestic, in our political or religious characters. And let us be humble and penitent on account of our sins. For though self delusion may prevent us from observing our errors and moral deformities, we are under the inspection of Him who can not be deceived. The omniscient and omnipresent Jehovah, is perfectly acquainted with our dispositions and motives, with our actions and characters. He is the great searcher of hearts. May we study and endeavour to approve ourselves to him. And at the great assize, when every work, together with every secret thing, shall be brought into judgment, may we all be found of our judge in peace.

AMEN.

SECOND DISCOURSE.

THE SAME TEXT.

WHILE the sentiments advanced in the morning are fresh in your minds, I hope for your indulgence in bringing to view other considerations not unworthy of your attention.

At the beginning of the French revolution, we rejoiced at the progress of that liberty, which appeared to glow in the breast of every citizen of France. Our best wishes attended their cause and arms, and days of festivity and rejoicing were spent in celebrating their successes. Our hopes gained upon their quickest marches, and out-stripped the echo of their greatest victories. We were strangely led to expect, that they would restrain their zeal for liberty within proper limits, and not suffer it to degenerate into licentiousness and political frenzy. These wishes, hopes and expectations, were for a long time kept alive and vigorous. Until we had decided and repeated proofs of their hostile disposition and intriguing policy, our confidence in them remained unshaken. Until their artful duplicity and undermining influence were often displayed in a manner alarming to our peace, we continued to receive their fraternal embrace, and to respect their ministers and measures. They boasted the influence they had in the United States, before any decisive steps were taken to check that influence. They repeatedly insulted our government, took our property and mangled our citizens, before we withdrew our confidence and dissolved our connexion. Indeed more. We have sought for a fair and honourable adjustment. We have commissioned some of our most respectable citizens to seek reparation for the injuries we have sustained. *We have made every advance for reconciliation consistent with the honour of our government, and the majesty of the people.* But our fair proposals and condescending overtures have been rejected. Our every attempt at negotiation has been fruitless. Instead of meeting us upon the equal ground of national honour and virtue, the ruling powers of France have been, with respect to accommodation, in a retiring posture, and have employed ministers and agents to perplex and embarrass, to involve and insnare us. They have used every possible method to undermine our constituted authorities, and to create

uneasiness and discontent in the minds of our citizens. They have even made use of our confidence, our good wishes and our friendly disposition, as the channels of their poison, which has strangely insinuated itself into the vitals of our country. Like Judas, they have betrayed with a kiss. At length the genius of America awoke from its slumbers. The spirit of patriotism began to act. Our sufferings preached caution. Our injuries demanded satisfaction. Our wrongs insisted on redress. Patience ceased to be a virtue. The blood of our citizens, mingled with the waters of the deep, called us to *search* for the murderers who spilt it, and bring them to justice.

UNDER such circumstances, and with such calls and warnings, we could do no less than withdraw the hand of fellowship, and renounce our alliance. And thanks be to God, through the wisdom and penetration, thro' the firmness and energy of our government, the snare set for us appears to be giving way, and we escaping from its entanglements.

OUR treaty with Great Britain, which closed our revolutionary war, left some things unsettled. Before we had fully emerged from a state of *mental* warfare, the depredations and unjustifiable conduct of British subjects, rekindled our ardour for hostilities. At this period of general agitation and just resentment, the President of the United States, made manly and well directed efforts to avert from our land the impending calamities of war. He sent a minister to sue for reparation and to bring all matters of grievance to a proper adjustment. The happy result of that mission, was the preservation of peace upon honourable terms, by a treaty concluded November 1794. Severe things have been published in the false and slanderous *Chronicles* of the day, concerning this instrument, and the authorities exercised in forming it. It has often been said, though we have ample testimonials to the contrary, that even the terrible republic mentions the British treaty as the efficient cause of her arbitrary and

hostile measures respecting our commerce and citizens. This by many has been believed. But by faithfully *searching* dates and circumstances, it can be proved, that some of the very measures, which are said to be occasioned by the British treaty, were in operation before that treaty was made and sanctioned. This circumstance has often been mentioned to those of our fellow citizens, who are violently attached to French interests, and strenuously opposed to the proceedings of our own government. But some of this description have a faculty peculiar to themselves. *Tho' confuted and vanquished, they can argue still.* There are a few among us, who appear to suffer the same kind of unhappiness, as was experienced by a certain man, who took the advice of his neighbours in a matter of consequence. He found to his sorrow, that, tho' they were men of good judgment and well agreed in opinion, they all were wrong but his *single self*.

THE method, by which I have endeavoured to explain and apply the sentiments of our text, gives you some just idea of the existing differences between the United States and the Republic of France. No true and authentic accounts of these differences inform you that we have wantonly invaded her rights, and been in the practice of capturing her property; that we have insulted her government, and endeavoured to alienate the minds of the French people from their rulers. We have only been guilty of regarding the principles of neutrality, and of loving the government and interests of our country. We have only been guilty of continuing a free, sovereign and independent nation. These national virtues form such a striking contrast with the policy and measures of France, that we have become obnoxious to her. We have incurred her hot displeasure, because we are lovers of peace and tranquility. Being strenuous to maintain our independence, we are required to make a second purchase of it. To this her proposals of accommodation directly lead. For they would weaken our constitution and

laws, throw contempt upon all branches of our government, and at length lay all our dear bought liberties prostrate at her feet. She has already laid a train, and prepared combustibles for a general explosion.— She has intentionally disturbed our peace, invaded our rights, captured our property, butchered our citizens. She has covered our national honour with reproaches. Under the gallic tongue lies the poison of asps. She has handed round a deadly cup, and invited our citizens to drink of it. And she continues to commit outrage upon our peace, and depredations upon our property. And yet she can boast of her fulfilling her engagements with religious punctuality.

WHETHER she can in any view be called *religious*, let facts speak.

A DISCOURSE printed and circulated in France by order of the convention, contains the following sentiments. “ The French people, or revolutionists, want on other sermon but the rights of man, no other doctrine but the constitutional precepts, nor any other church but the place where the revolutionary clubs hold their meetings. Man, when free, wants no other divinity than himself. This god will not cost us a single farthing, not a single tear, not a drop of blood. Reason dethrones both the kings of the earth and the kings of Heaven. No monarchy above, if we wish to preserve a republic below. If you admit the existence of a Heavenly Sovereign, you introduce the wooden horse within your walls. What you adore by day, will be your destruction by night. We shall soon see the monarchy of Heaven condemned in its turn by the revolutionary tribunal of virtuous reason.”

In conformity to these horrid sentiments, the ruling powers of France have in effect expunged the sabbath, abolished public worship and renounced the Deity. Instead of keeping the christian sabbath, they devote every tenth day to scenes of mirth, amusement and extravagance. Instead of public worship, they celebrate filthy and obscene rites in ridicule of it. In-

stead of worshipping God, they in a very irrational manner worship reason.

OVER the gates leading to their burying yards is this inscription, written with the approbation of government.—“*Death an everlasting sleep.*”

ON the 30th November, 1793, the pupils of a republican school in France, appeared at the bar of the convention, and there their leaders boldly declared, “*that he and his school fellows detested God.*” The president of the convention expressed the satisfaction of the convention at the declaration that was made. And all the pupils were admitted to the honours of the sitting, and received the kiss of fraternity, amidst the loudest applauses.

WHAT moral principles, what virtue, what honour can be found in a government, which advocates, or approves such sentiments! What confidence can be placed in a people, whose rulers and leading men oppose and detest the majesty and laws of Heaven!—What principles and conduct must be advocated by them, who are still attached to the French government and interests! How can they who discover this attachment be the real supporters of good government and friends to religion?

It seems that such men know not what they do, nor what spirit moves them. For what fellowship has light with darkness? What communion is there between Christ and Belial? What concord can subsist between the principles of our constitution and religion, and the demoralizing principles and the Atheistical sentiments and measures of the French republic?

MANKIND being formed for society, and regular government being necessary to preserve its bands from bursting asunder, a proper regard, submission and obedience to the established laws of society, are by fair implication enjoined by the providence and appointment of Heaven. The stamp of divine authority is given every regular ordinance of man adapted to the so-

cial state and conducive to social happiness. Of this description is the American Constitution. The annals of the world do not exhibit a better form of government, nor a purer administration than the American. We find in our government a happy balance of powers, enjoyments and interests. Every man, who is honest, cautious and inquisitive, may know his duty and vindicate his rights. Our constitution is a free charter of privileges, and those, who are chosen by the free and unbiassed suffrages of the citizens to carry the principles of it into effect, have every inducement to be faithful. Christian principles and maxims are so incorporated into our civil constitutions, that unless the people abuse their rights and privileges and yield to the shifting dictates of a party spirit, such men will be chosen and supported as will be the ministers of God for good to the people.

AMERICANS form a christian community, and American citizenship is the highest civil dignity of man.

HAPPY, thrice happy America! Thou enjoyest the institutions and ordinances of that divine religion, which brings peace on earth and good will to man. By a steady adherence to the christian religion, thou mayest ascertain and preserve a knowledge of thy equal rights, and of thy duty to God and thyself.—Those among thy patrons and children, who are attached to the principles and laws of christianity, are of the number of thy best citizens and confidential friends. Guided by the religion and government which blest thee, peace, liberty and happiness, shall walk in majesty through the world with righteousness and glory in their train. But there are spots in thy garment. We have somewhat against thee. Some of thy sons have forsaken their first love, and have gone after strange gods. Duped by foreign influence and intrigue, they are untrue to thee. Thou hast nourished and brought them up as children, and they are turned against thee. By thy works, thy labour

and thy perseverance, purify thyself from every one that worketh abomination, or maketh a lie, and things shall go well with thee for years and ages to come.

A FAIR and impartial history of our national government does honour to our rulers and country, and conforms in a good degree to the principles of the constitution. (A) The officers of our government so often return into the common mass of the people, and are so responsible to them for their conduct, that in the proper use of our *rights*, our *liberties* are secure. Our constitution contains checks and balances to keep each department of government within proper limits. No government can foresee all cases which may occur in the course of events, and make complete provision for them. The few instances in which discretionary powers have been exercised by the Executive, have displayed great integrity and wisdom, and received the general approbation of constituted judges. Under these considerations we have abundant cause to look up to our government with candour and confidence. Our elections, which are free and frequent, may be so conducted, that we can secure ourselves against the influence and preferment of unqualified and dangerous men. If we act according to the dictates of our sober judgment, and not allow ourselves to be governed by the spirit of party; if we take care never to condemn public measures without sufficient evidence, and let those, who are fond of fabricating and spreading false and slanderous reports concerning our constituted authorities, have no more influence than they deserve, our liberties will under God be so guarded and fortified, that neither foreign nor domestic foes, nor yet the gates of hell can prevail against them.

WE are to consider, my hearers, that citizens have a place and a sphere in which to act as well as their rulers. Their place and sphere in this country are the fair fields of freedom, and in them their duties lie. But even these fields have constitutional bounds and

fences to prevent not only our rulers from encroaching upon the rights of citizens, but also to prevent citizens from encroaching upon the delegated rights and powers of their rulers. How then can we justify the conduct of those men, who woult only undertake to decide upon the constitutionality of laws and treaties, when the constitution itself provides another tribunal for such trial and decision? When legislatures acknowledge that they are not authorized by the constitution to decide in such cases, is it proper for individuals to perch on the pinnacle of opposition, and with the voice of decision to proclaim what is constitutional and what is not?—When such public bodies deliberately express their private opinions in favour of the expediency of any particular acts of our national government, does it discover a laudable and patriotic spirit in a few individuals, openly to censure and condemn them, and endeavour to excite opposition and outrage against government? When patriotic addresses are made to the Executive by towns, literary societies, and military legions, expressing their warmest approbation of measures respecting our foreign relations and our domestic concerns and their full and entire confidence in the integrity and wisdom of our beloved President, is it the part of candour and patriotism in individuals decidedly to *condemn* these measures, and to use reproachful language concerning this our beloved President? When ADAMS and WASHINGTON for a long course of years have made astonishing displays of firmness, wisdom and patriotism, and are wearing themselves out in the service of their country, is it judicious and praiseworthy in individuals, to call them the leaders of a British faction, and enemies to their country? The newspaper which publishes such a sentiment ought to be burnt, and the *black fount* whence it issued, ought to be stopped. (B)

A DUE attention to these questions may serve to check the wild career of those tongues, pens and presses, which are employed to run down government,

to destroy the energy of law and to lessen the influence of good men and true. Persons, who attempt to revolutionize our country, and from places of ambush cast envenomed arrows at the American Eagle, forfeit the protection of government and the privilege of citizens. Such as endeavour to mislead the ignorant, to destroy the influence of patriotic men and constitutional measures, and to carry sedition into every nook and corner of the United States, deservedly attract the penal notice of authority. That a christian people should take such newspapers and tolerate such sentiments as disturb the peace, injure the government and wound the religion of our country, denotes either gross deception, or great depravity. These things put our rights and liberties to more hazard than the unfriendly attitude and hostile movements of any foreign power. Some editors of pernicious newspapers have been weighed in the equal balance of government, and found wanting. (c) The guilt of those who write seditious pieces, spreads as far as the papers which contain them, and even as far as the jurisdiction of law. He who is guilty in this point discovers disrespect to authority in general. Streams which issue from the fount of sedition, are extremely poisonous to our American soil. And we ought to bear in mind, that he, who encourages such unpatriotic newspapers, contributes to their support, and is a partner in the mischief they circulate. And let us remember, that evil communications corrupt good governments as well as good manners.

I HAVE now laid before you the observations which occurred to me in reading and meditating on the subjects to which I have called your attention. And the pains I have taken to get authentic information and to come forward with plainness of speech, give me some claims to your candid indulgence. The few minutes which may still be allowed me, will be employed in drawing a few inferences from what has

been said, and in advancing a few things suggested by the occasion.

I. FROM what has been said, we may easily trace the unhappy effects of our immoderate joy at French successes.

+ OUR national Executive took an early opportunity to urge upon the citizens of the United States the importance of keeping our neutral posture. By our transports of joy at the victories of France we insulted the misfortunes of a nation with whom we were at peace. In consequence of our public rejoicings and festive celebrations, the French republic was led to expect, that we should be prevailed on to engage in her quarrels and make war with England. Such an expectation no doubt led her to that subtle and intriguing policy, which by her ministers and agents she has used in this country with too much success. When she failed to allure our government, she endeavoured to draw over the people to her interests. With respect to this country, her path like the folds of the serpent, has been winding and crooked. And many in the United States might now say what was said in the days of our first parents, "*the serpent beguiled me and I did eat.*" That so many of our honest and worthy citizens have been deceived concerning the real state and best interests of our country, is among the things which we ought this day to lament.

THE immoderate joy we expressed at French successes, unhappily effects our religious affairs. The public mind was wrought up to such a degree of enthusiasm, that it admitted sentiments and opinions, which in a calmer season it would have cautiously examined perhaps wholly rejected. The French philosopher and revolutionists embraced the favourable moment to convey the poison of their demoralizing principles and infidel sentiments. Such principles and sentiments are chiefly exotics, and much depends upon the season and circumstances of disseminating

them. On this point they made, no doubt, elaborate calculations and concerted correspondent plans. The tares among our wheat were sown by an enemy. Many have written pamphlets and volumes against revealed religion, and have endeavoured to eradicate from the human mind the most stable principles and the most consoling truths of christianity. They arm its corruptions to attack and overthrow its general system, and for the principal weapon to be employed in the service, they furnish ridicule instead of argument. They dress up their pernicious sentiments in the garb of wit, trimmed with satire. These pretended disciples of reason have basely forsaken their master, and like the prodigal son have travelled into a far country, and continue to wander in regions of error, extravagance and vice. They seem to aspire after all the peculiar honours attached to that distinguished character mentioned in scripture, "*who hath said in his heart there is no God.*"

II. We may see from what has been said, the direful effects of ambition and infidelity, when they are suffered to act without control. By their combined influence they make astonishing havoc with the rights, liberties and happiness of mankind. They aim at the most stable monuments of political and religious wisdom. Without reluctance they move ancient landmarks, and convert social order and religious freedom into the miserable abodes of anarchy and confusion. Their progress is more to be dreaded than famine and pestilence. Should their foul abominations form a thick cloud over our horizon and become matured into a bursting state, our situation would be alarming in the extreme. The filthy and combustible materials, which it would attract from different parts of our country, would so increase its compass and weight, as to render a general explosion fatal. But it is hoped, that the virtue and patriotism of the people would so soon act as powerful repellents as to cause it to scat-

ter and dissipate. The progress of licentious principles and opinions in the United States, is to be reckoned among the reasons for setting apart a day for humiliation, fasting and prayer. For such principles and opinions have a direct tendency to reduce the political and christian world to the same dark and chaotic state of the natural world, before God said, *let there be light.* **24 JU 68**

III. THE connexion between religion and politics, especially with regard to the dispute between the United States and the republic of France, suggests the propriety of considering them in connexion on occasions like the present. The importance of religious opinions to the welfare and happiness of society, and the necessity of civil liberty to religious freedom and order, involve the obligation of the clergy to describe and inculcate the duties of citizens, as well as to preach and vindicate the more peculiar doctrines and precepts of the gospel. Indeed were the ministers of the gospel to keep politics out of the pulpit, they would neglect a valuable part of the christian system, and an important branch of their duty. When people cease mischievously to *talk* politics, and to be greatly *out* in their politics, the clergy will undoubtedly cease to *preach* politics.

THE gospel patronizes civil government and exhorts men to be subject to civil authority. Tribute and honour are to be paid to whom tribute and honour are due. Our holy religion requires us to observe every regular ordinance of man for the Lord's sake. When our national affairs are in a hazardous situation and our liberties are in danger, christian ministers should use their utmost endeavours to enhance the value and blessings of freedom in the estimation of the people. They should warn the people of approaching dangers, and strive to avert any calamities which threaten the state. And were the clergy in general as much opposed to constituted authorities, as

they now are faithful in their support, our disorganizing and discontented fellow citizens would in all probability tell us to *lift up our voices like a trumpet and spare not*. But this does not happen to be the case; and yet there is no class of citizens more interested in the peace and order, in the welfare and happiness of the people at large than the clergy. For when the ark of liberty is in danger, the ark of God cannot be safe. (D)

In the year 1775, the provincial congress of Massachusetts wrote a letter to all the ministers of the gospel throughout the province expressed in these words.

“Reverend Sir,

“We cannot but acknowledge the goodness of God in constantly supplying us with preachers of the gospel, whose concern has been the temporal and spiritual happiness of this people. In a day like this,—when all the friends of civil and religious liberty are exerting themselves to deliver this country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hopes in an order of men, who have ever distinguished themselves in their country’s cause; and we do therefore *recommend* to the ministers of the gospel in the several towns and other places in this Colony, that they assist us in avoiding that dreadful slavery with which we are threatened.”

OUR liberties are as dear to us now as they were then, and the doctrines of the gospel and the duties of christian ministers remain the same. And whatever is said against their preaching political discourses,—when the state of public affairs is critical and hazardous, must be either owing to ignorance, delusion or perverseness.

TO CONCLUDE. It becomes us all to be humble and penitent before God on account of our vile ingratitude, manifold offences and aggravated sins. Tho’ blessed with valuable rights and privileges, we have not been duly active and vigorous in exercising and

improving them. Though the means of information concerning our duty to God and our country have been within our reach, we have treated them with too much neglect. God has done every thing to his American vineyard, consistent with the freedom of the labourers, to render it prosperous and productive ; but we have been barren and unfruitful. He has called us to civil and religious liberty, but we have greatly abused it. He has placed in full possession of the fair fields of freedom, but we are letting them run waste. Let us, therefore, think on our ways, repent of our sins and engage in the business of reformation. Let us act the part of honest men, good citizens and real christians.

By a course of virtue and obedience may we all attain to the liberty of the sons of God ; and by a diligent and faithful improvement of the rights, privileges and blessings which have been conveyed to us by the toils and blood of our citizens, and through the blood of the everlasting covenant, may we all secure the inheritance of the saints in light.

A M E N.

NOTES.

(A)
OWING to foreign influence and to the disorganizing schemes of a few designing men, some in our State Legislatures and even in our national government, have discovered prominent features of a party spirit. And those who have been most active in causing divisions in our national councils, have been among the first to lament and complain, that our State governments and Congress are divided. As long as some are raised to important stations, because they are able friends to order and government, and others are raised, because they are opposed to both, as they exist in this country, a division will undoubtedly continue. Let this consideration make us jealous of those who cause divisions and occasion unreasonable opposition to lawful authority.

(B)
The sentiments conveyed in newspapers have an amazing influence upon the minds of people at large. Happy would it have been for the United States, if those printing Presses, which have been squeezing out seditious sentiments, had been long ago crushed by the power of our national authority.

For I believe if presses of such a description had never been employed, the Alien and Sedition Laws would never have been in agitation, and the people would have been wholly excused from a House and Land tax. The expenses of government would have been defrayed by the regular operation of former plans, concerted for supporting our revenue; and Aliens and others, who were not pleased with our government, would probably have left it, or by labour and patience conformed to its administration.

(C)

THE Editors of the Boston Chronicle have been indicted for setting their types against the interests and laws of our country; and one of them on a fair and impartial trial is found guilty of publishing false and seditious sentiments, and the other waits his trial.

The observations made by JUDGE DANA at the time sentence was passed upon Mr. *Abijah Adams*, and published in the *Columbian Centinel* on the 30th March, are admirably adapted to convince, all who are willing to admit evidence as it flows, that the Sedition Law, being founded on the principles of Common Law, is constitutional; and that, by the natural application of those principles, Mr. *Adams* received its just penalties. Indeed, not only the principles of common Law and the Sedition Law operate against the publication of many things which appear in his paper, but even *the law of decency*. And the remarks since made in the *Chronicle* on his trial and on the sentence he received, I would now mention as evincive proof of the hurtful and pernicious tendency of that organ of Sedition.

(D)

SOME of our fellow citizens have discovered strong suspicions, that the ministers of the gospel are combined in a *Tory plan*. But we well remember, that in the time of our revolution those were called Tories, who were opposed to the declaration of independence and to the prevailing sentiments and rising authorities of our country. And the word *Tory* is inapplicable in our times, or it must be applied to those who oppose the general sentiments and existing authorities of the American people. So that when we hear any one of this number exclaiming against the errors, follies and perverseness of every person concerned in the *Tory Scheme*, we can with much propriety say to him, as Nathan said to David, "*Thou art the man.*" But as I wish to allow every proper indulgence, I am willing, that those, who are engaged in opposition to government, should determine, whether to be called *Tories* or *Jacobins*.

HAVING named the Authors from whom I have collected the principal materials of these discourses, I have omitted many names of persons and dates of events, hoping that every reader will examine for himself.

☞ Since these discourses and the foregoing notes were written, the *Chronicle* has fallen into other hands, and we hope and trust it will be managed in a better manner.

THE Editors of the Boston Chronicle have been informed that
they regard the interests and laws of our country; and that they
are anxious to publish all the news and intelligence that
may be of service to the public.

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Boston, June, 1799.

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